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5 March 1984

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

**FBIS**

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5 March 1984

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

### CONTENTS

#### INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

- GDR-USSR Military Cooperation To Be Increased in 1984  
(VOLKSARMEE, No 51, 1983)..... 1

#### ALBANIA

- Decision on Liberation Anniversary Celebrations  
(ZERI I POPULLIT, 5 Feb 84)..... 4

#### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

- Savings in CSSR Highest Since 1974  
(Vera Nepimachova Interview; TVORBA, No 51, 21 Dec 83)... 8

#### GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

- Catholic Membership Loss, Protestant Church Study Increase  
Reported  
(IWE TAGESDIENST, No 18, 1 Feb 84; INFORMATIONEN,  
No 2/1984, 27 Jan 84)..... 13
- Membership Loss Psychology Sketched  
Theological Student Numbers Rise

#### HUNGARY

- Marxist-Leninist Theory on Reform and Socialist Democracy  
Examined  
(Mihaly Bihari; MAGYAR NEMZET, 14 Jan 84)..... 15

Revived Peace Movement Split Between Moderate, Radical Factions (NY TID, 11 Jan 84).....	19
POLAND	
Use, Reliability of Polygraph Assessed (Kazimierz J. Pawelec; TYGODNIK ROBOTNICZY, No 3, 15 Jan 84).....	21
Public Participation in Cultural Life Urged (Jerzy Adamski; ZYCIE WARSZAWY, 7-8 Jan 84).....	25
Dentists Flee Socialized Medicine (Helena Czarnecka Interview; PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY, No 5, 29 Jan 84).....	28
ROMANIA	
Media Role in Implementation of Overall Contract System (PRESA NOASTRA, Dec 83).....	31
Regulations on Providing Work Uniforms Approved (BULETINUL OFICIAL, No 8, 30 Jan 84).....	33
YUGOSLAVIA	
LCY Weekly Criticizes Nationalism, Antisocialism in Religion (Stipe Pojatina; KOMUNIST, 27 Jan 84).....	35
Impressions of Montenegrins Working in Slovenia Reported (Milutin Labovic; POBJEDA, various dates).....	39
Marine Landing Exercise on Adriatic Island (Miroslav Lazanski; START, No 389, 17 Dec 83).....	41

GDR-USSR MILITARY COOPERATION TO BE INCREASED IN 1984

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 51, 1983 (signed to press 12 Dec 83) p 3

[Article by 'E.F.': "In the Fraternal Alliance We Proceed with Confidence; Joint Efforts of the Socialist Community of States Against the Confrontation Course of Imperialism; Army Members and Border Troops in Thaelmann's Spirit at the Side of Their Comrades-in-Arms"]

[Text] "Our party leadership is regularly concerned with the further consolidation of the brotherly alliance with the CPSU and with the USSR, with the brother parties and states of the socialist community. It assigns priority to the consolidation of their unity and solidarity especially in the current situation." This is the text of a program statement in the Political Bureau report to the SED Central Committee which was submitted at the Seventh Conference. It was confirmed by many events in recent days: In Berlin, Erich Honecker met Janos Kadar, first secretary of the USAP [Hungarian Socialist Worker Party] Central Committee; the GDR-USSR Parity Government Commission met already for the 33rd time and spelled out further steps in economic and scientific-technical cooperation; the chairmen of the councils of ministers of the GDR and Czechoslovakia signed important agreements; the defense ministers of the Warsaw Pact countries met in Sofia.

If we look at these most recent events in the light of the Seventh Conference of the SED Central Committee, then we can say the following full of pride: The historical advantages of socialism, its vital force, and its optimism for the future emerge clearly for all the world to see. More than that, the peace and military policy of the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community, which is aimed at peace and disarmament, is meeting with ever greater support among the peoples. The Prague Declaration, the Moscow Appeal, the latest proposals from Yuriy Andropov--these produced a long-lasting echo that cannot be missed.

Our People's Welfare is Inseparable from the Welfare of Our Friends

The latest plenum of the party's Central Committee emphatically observed the following: "The states of the socialist community day after day prove themselves to be the decisive factor for peace and international stability." Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann, in his discussion remarks, was able to point out that Army personnel and border guard soldiers side by side with Soviet soldiers and



other comrades-in-arms have made a significant contribution to that. As internationalists, who accomplish their class mission, they display unconditional confidence in their comrades-in-arms in the brother armies and they are ready, as soldiers of the United Armed Forces, to carry out any order under any command.

This kind of attitude, which is marked by proletarian internationalism, is based on the realization that the welfare of our people is inseparable from the welfare of our friends and allies.

More than ever before, the GDR's firm anchoring in the community of socialist states is the foundation of that stable and dynamic development of our country that was adopted by the Tenth Congress of the SED and regarding which the Seventh Conference was able to present such a successful activity review.

Economic and scientific-technical cooperation within the CEMA which multiplies all forces of the member states, the foreign, security, and military policies which are debated and coordinated jointly in the various bodies of the Warsaw Pact--these have proved to be advantageous and profitable in fashioning the developed socialist society in all brother countries. Utmost significance is here assigned to the contribution made by the organization of these states toward the preservation of peace. In view of the further aggravation in the confrontation course of the most aggressive imperialist circles, resulting from the basing of new first-strike weapons of the United States in the FRG and in other Western European NATO states, the Seventh Conference of the SED Central Committee therefore also once again alerted everybody to strengthen the socialist community in every respect, in political, economic, and ideological terms, and to increase its joint defense capability.

In this connection, the Political Bureau's report expressly refers to the Berlin Conference of the Committee of Defense Ministers of the Warsaw Pact. During that conference it was declared that the allied armies would in the future likewise be alert in guaranteeing the protection of peace and the untouchability of the borders of the countries of the socialist community and the achievements of the brother peoples.

#### Internationalists in Uniform Always Stand with the Soviet Union

The demand expressed by the national defense minister to step up efforts aimed at the internationalist education of army personnel and to consolidate arms comradeship with the members of the Soviet Armed Forces and the other brother armies was heard loud and clear. Starting with the mostly already tradition-rich arms comradeship relations to the "regiment next door," many units and training installations discussed ways of making arms comradeship even more realistically livable in everyday military routine. Valuable suggestions on that score last but not least came from the new Arms Comradeship Regulations of the National People's Army which took effect with the 1983-1984 training year. The joint plan of the NVA [National People's Army] and the GSSD [Society for Sports and Technology], which was signed recently, will fill it with life. It calls for many different types of measures which enable the comrades-in-arms, in the course of performance comparisons, to exchange experiences for the benefit of the effort to increase fighting strength and combat readiness, to develop existing friendships, and to establish new contacts.

This could not be otherwise because, after all, the combined efforts of the socialist defense coalition are aimed at pushing back the policy of confrontation of the most aggressive NATO circles and the endeavor of the United States to achieve world rule, to prevent the threatening outbreak of war, and to achieve new successes for world socialism.

As internationalists in uniform, army personnel and border guard soldiers are here always guided by the Thaelmann spirit to the effect that the position of the Soviet Union--which is making the main contribution in the fight for the preservation of world peace--is the touchstone for loyalty to the working class and to socialism. The past 65 years of existence of the Communist Party of Germany--the vanguard of the German working class, which was founded by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, has found a worthy heir in the SED--in many different ways confirm this important lesson: Communists always acted successfully when they were guided by the idea that the policy of the Soviet Union is basically correct and was always supported by them, even when they were not immediately able to understand and explain everything. This kind of class-oriented approach enabled the communists, even under the complicated situations of the class struggle, to orient themselves accurately and to pass all tests.

The Seventh Conference of the SED Central Committee shows the way of our further successful advance which strengthens the brotherly alliance and in this connection places a high degree of responsibility on members of the NVA and the GDR Border Forces. Doing their duty at all times as loyal and reliable fighting companions side by side with the comrades-in-arms is the contribution of army personnel and border guard soldiers on the 35th Anniversary of our socialist German republic during the coming year.

5058

CSO: 2300/276

DECISION ON LIBERATION ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS

AU111717 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 5 Feb 84 p 1

["Decision" of the AWP Central Committee "On the Celebrations of the 40th Anniversary of the Country's Liberation and the Triumph of the People's Revolution"]

[Text] This year, 40 years will have elapsed since 29 November 1944 when, under the leadership of the party headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, the Albanian people crowned the most brilliant victory in their history, liberated the country, established the people's regime, and entered a new era, the era of socialism.

In these 40 years Socialist Albania experienced an unprecedented and incomparable prosperity. Albania is a free and independent country with the most advanced political, economic, and social system. It has its own developed and modern industry, a collectivized agricultural which has embarked on the road of intensification, its socialist schools and culture, an advanced science and technology, and a strong and invincible defense. It has its own independent, correct, and revolutionary policy, which enjoys the support of the broad and progressive opinion in the world.

The socialism that we are building has assured the working people a free and democratic life, equal in rights and duties. It has opened broad avenues to their all-round progress and has made them into active participants in the management of the state and in ruling the country. The life of our people is joyful and dignified. It is characterized by lofty interests and goals, love for work, and affection and respect for each other.

The victories achieved did not come by themselves, they were not donated. At their foundation lies the heroic National Liberation Struggle, the blood of thousands of the best sons and daughters of the people, the efforts, sweat, and toil of the broad working masses. New pages of glorious history were written during these years, in continual and irreconcilable struggle against numerous internal and external enemies, imperialist and revisionist. In this struggle the unity of the people was strengthened and steeled, our new man was educated and tempered.



The 40 years that have elapsed and the reality of socialist Albania have completely proven the strength of Marxism-Leninism, the vitality of the socialist system, and the correctness of the line that our glorious party has followed and continues to follow.

Our socioeconomic development is secure and irresistible. It is not conditioned by foreign aid and credits, but relies on its own forces, on the country's wealth, on the economic potential that we have created, and on the abilities and the creative work of the cadres and of the masses. The wise and far-sighted leadership of the party is a guarantee for the socialist present and future. The country's political, economic, and social stability, its progress and development at a rapid and steady pace in all fields of life are the factors for the firm belief of the people in the future, the factors for their mobilization for the general well-being and prosperity of society.

Our country is building socialism in the conditions of the savage imperialist-revisionist encirclement and blockade, in the conditions of severe international situations. The superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, together with other imperialist powers, are threatening the freedom and independence of the peoples, peace, and international security through their aggressive and expansionist policy. These situations require a greater appreciation and engagement at work to fulfill the tasks stipulated by the party for the construction of socialism and the country's defense, they require that the revolutionary spirit and vigilance of the party and of the people be kept high.

New and more brilliant prospects confront us for the progress and development of our beloved socialist country. May the celebrations of the 40th anniversary become a special incentive for new victories in all directions. Hailing the initiatives and actions undertaken on this occasion by the working people in the cities and in the countryside, the AWP Central Committee calls on the working class, the cooperativist peasantry, the people's intelligentsia and all the working people to work with even greater fervor and creativity to fulfill the tasks set out by the party. May the year of the 40th anniversary of the country's liberation and of the victory of the people's revolution be transformed into a year of general onslaught to fulfill and overfulfill the tasks in industry and agriculture, in the oil fields and in the mines, in construction and education, in the cultural sector and in the country's defense.

In order to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the liberation and the triumph of the people's revolution to the best extent possible, the AWP Central Committee instructs:

1. A broad educational, propaganda, cultural, and artistic activity is to be organized and carried out within the country and abroad to make known the glorious struggle of the Albanian people for the country's liberation and the establishment of the people's regime, and their titanic efforts for

the country's socialist transformation and the defense of the victories of the revolution, under the party's leadership.

The ideological work of the party and social organizations is to be intensified to implant socialist beliefs among the working masses and particularly the young generation, to keep the patriotic and revolutionary spirit alive, to temper them with lofty communist virtues, and to make them even more determined fighters against the imperialist-revisionist pressure and the vestiges of alien ideologies.

During this jubilee year, the great historic events of the war and of the post-liberation period, both national and local, such as the 40th anniversary of the Historic Congress of Permet, the 40th anniversary of the formation of the Democratic Government in Berat, and of the Youth and Women's Congresses, the anniversaries of the formation of partisan brigades, and so forth, are to be commemorated and celebrated.

2. A powerful competition between individuals, collectives, and districts is to be organized throughout the country to fulfill and overfulfill the planned tasks under all headings and in all economic and financial indicators, to further strengthen the regimen of thrift, and to achieve the tasks set out by the Eighth AWP Central Committee plenum.

3. The cultural activity and artistic and literary creativity is to reflect and echo widely the heroic effort and struggle of our working masses. Our creators should give to the people works of a high level and sound substance, reflecting even better the spiritual life of our people. This is to be promoted through competitions for literary and musical works, documentaries, movies, and so forth. Exhibitions are to be opened in the districts and the best works should be entered in the central exhibition of figurative arts to be opened in Tirana on the eve of this jubilee.

4. The finals of the National Spartakiade and the big physical culture and sports manifestation are to be held in the "Qemal Stafa" National Stadium in October.

5. A military parade and the manifestation of the working people of the capital is to be held on 21 November.

6. The press and radio-television organs, the movie studio, and other cultural and artistic institutions are to draft special programs to reflect, propagate, and stimulate the efforts and activities of the working people in all fields.

7. The party committees, social organizations, and the state and economic organs are to adopt all measures to ensure the organization and successful development, at a high level, of the activities to be undertaken for the 40th anniversary.

The AWP Central Committee is convinced that, united like a fist around their party, the Albanian people will turn the jubilee year of the 40th anniversary of the liberation into a year of unprecedented mobilization and will go to this historic event with new successes in the implementation of the decisions of the Eighth AWP Congress. The AWP Central Committee.

CSO: 2100/32

SAVINGS IN CSSR HIGHEST SINCE 1974

Prague TVORBA in Czech No 51, 21 Dec 83 p 4

[Interview with Vera Nepimachova, director of the savings department of the Czech State Savings Bank, by Jaroslav Hejkal]

[Text] Christmas is around the corner; the traditional shopping spree, and with it also the season of the year when we most readily spend our savings, will come to an end in a few days. This gives us an opportunity for a very timely discussion of the theme "People and Money." We asked Comrade Vera Nepimachova, director of the savings department at the headquarters of the Czech State Savings Bank, to discuss it with us.

[Question] It is said that one values money most when one starts being short of it. Nevertheless, prudent and rational saving also expresses a person's relationship to money. What do you think of that, Comrade Director?

[Answer] I believe that it is saving more than anything else that expresses proper understanding of money. Probably every person realizes that it is impossible to live from day to day without thinking of the future. That is true of the whole society as well as the individual. An individual's relationship to money which he or she is receiving as wages for honest work is actually the relationship to the work itself, to life, to family, to society. Prudent management of work compensation and good planning in family budgeting are expressions of respect for the values created by work, but also expressions of a goal-oriented integration of material consumption with culture and with an all-round development of the personality. Systematic saving is a part of this prudent management by an individual who knows how to distribute income in order to cover present and future expenses. Many people will certainly appreciate this experience especially now in the pre-Christmas season when greater purchases are customary. He who has saved finds buying presents easier. But the really good money managers know that Christmas is not the end of everything. Therefore, they keep a financial reserve which they will need later the following year, often for even more costly goals.

[Question] Saving policy which our state maintains through savings banks naturally exercises great influence on the thriftiness of our citizens, doesn't it?



[Answer] Yes, our socialist society creates conditions which enable savings deposited in a savings bank to serve an individual, his family, and the whole society. Their interests are interrelated in our circumstances and have much in common. A prudent and wise manager puts his temporarily spare money in a savings bank for safekeeping. He has it safely stored away there and is receiving not insignificant interest besides. From the point of view of the national economy, the citizens' savings represent an internal nationwide source of money from which higher industrial production, investments, housing development and the like can be financed through credits. That means that money which people deposit in a savings bank immediately starts to function as one of the important agents of intensification and effectiveness of the national economy and thus to contribute also to the maintenance and elevation of the attained living standard. From this point of view, support of thriftiness is socially desirable, and our state therefore pays proper attention to it.

[Question] In what ways do you execute the state's saving policy in savings banks, and which of them do you consider most effective?

[Answer] A part of the savings policy consists in the adoption of saving forms which meet each saver's needs and intended objectives. For purchase of goods for short-term use, one saves for a shorter period of time; for purchase of more expensive items which are to be used for a long time, one saves sometimes several years. This is reflected in short-term and long-term forms of saving. Among the short-term forms, lottery savings books still occupy a predominant place; more than Kcs 28 billion, that is, almost one-fourth of all the money saved, is deposited in them. They are attractive because of the prizes [they offer]; one can say that they combine saving and gambling. A distinct form of short-term saving is also a checking account, which enables easy payment without cash in hand. Long-term savings make up at the present time already 52 percent of the whole amount of savings. There are also several types of these, from 6-month or 12-month certificates to 5-year premium saving [certificates] for young people. These long-term certificates make saving more profitable because the interest rate is higher by as much as 5.3 percent, if one counts the premium.

[Question] As far as I know, these long-term forms were recently supplemented by premium saving for retirement. How did that take hold?

[Answer] It was introduced a year ago. It is designed for the middle-aged generation--for women between 45 and 57 and men between 50 and 60. It is an exceptionally favorable form of saving which thus far has not been available in saving institutions. The purpose of premium saving for retirement is the creation of a monetary reserve which people can acquire for the years of retirement through systematic saving when they are at the peak of their productive years and the corresponding higher level of income. About 40,000 citizens of the CSR enrolled in the first year of premium saving for retirement; another more than 40,000 participants registered into the second round which began last month, and they will have saved themselves more than Kcs 1.5 billion in 5 years.

[Question] Comrade Director, how much money do people actually have in their savings books in the Czech State Savings Bank before this year's Christmas?

[Answer] Not a small amount, by any means. Toward the end of October of this year it was more than Kcs 129 billion, so that at the present time the average saving per CSR inhabitant is Kcs 12,507. However, I have to emphasize that this whole amount is by no means earmarked for Christmas, since it consists mostly of general, predominantly long-term monetary reserves. Very many deposits are the results of people's life-long work....

[Question] So how would you characterize this year's saving trend?

[Answer] As the most favorable one since 1974.

[Question] And do you perhaps also know who saves most in the CSR, and where?

[Answer] Certainly. I can even tell you quite precisely. Naturally, we have to proceed from the average savings per inhabitant. If we compare the saved amounts in all regions, then the maximum [saving] was done in Prague. In other regions, the highest average saving was held by the inhabitants of the South Bohemian region. As far as the districts are concerned, Prachatice was in the first place for several years but was surpassed this year by Klatovy, which had an average saving of Kcs 16,994 per inhabitant.

[Question] What do people in our country mostly save for? Have you done some research in this area?

[Answer] A savings policy cannot be administered without some research. It is impossible, though, always to determine precisely the monetary considerations of the inhabitants, since these are subjective and keep on changing during the course of saving. One can say that roughly two-thirds of savings are earmarked for definite, concrete goals while more than one-third has the character of a general financial reserve. From rough estimates based on developmental tendencies of contact indicators it appears that toward the end of the year 1982 about 37 percent of savings were earmarked for acquisition, repairs, and furnishing of apartments, then about 21 percent for purchases of industrial goods, about 6 percent for vacations, and almost 36 percent represented nonspecified, general financial reserves.

[Question] Supposedly there are also people in our country who have a million korunas, or even more, in their savings books. Tell me, please, how much truth is there in that?

[Answer] I will probably not satisfy you with my reply, but the citizens' savings are by law confidential. Naturally, there are differences in the amount of savings, but they are not exorbitant. In fact, saving has a really mass, general character in our country. Consider, for instance, that 54 percent of all working people participate in routine monthly organized saving by means of wage deductions.

[Question] That indeed speaks for itself. But let us return once more to Christmas. What do these most beautiful holidays of the year mean for employees of savings banks?

[Answer] Christmas in savings banks is traditionally characterized by a great rush at the windows. People are withdrawing money for the purchase of presents, for stocking up for holidays, they travel a lot, naturally even abroad. Just for the sake of interest: one teller of a savings bank in a county seat serves about 160 customers a day; this is a yearly average. In the pre-Christmas season, her workload increases by at least one-third. That is naturally reflected in a greater intensity of work in the rooms in back of the windows--from the preparation of the entry cash data to the computation centers. It is the same this year, too, since the forthcoming Christmas is no exception. Yet if someone were to think that after Christmas the savings bank would enjoy relief from stress, he would be mistaken. You see, people start saving again right after Christmas quite systematically and with a definite objective in mind. They even bring back money that they did not use or monetary gifts.

[Question] And when--I mean in which season--do people in our country save most?

[Answer] That is really interesting. The greatest saving is done in the first 3 to 5 months of every year. It always starts right at the beginning of January. There is a reason for that: people always start the new year with certain resolutions and plans. It is as if they wanted quickly to replenish their savings, which are to help them attain further goals--a nice vacation, purchase of furniture, a car, or some other industrial product of long-term use. However, receipt of various bonuses and premiums for work done in the preceding year is also a contributing factor. It can be said that this greater thriftiness at the beginning of each year manifests itself among almost all people regardless of profession, interests, and place of work.

[Question] To be sure, there are also people who do not save at all. What do you think of them?

[Answer] Actually, everybody has to save. It is a given fact that one has to buy articles of a long-term nature which one cannot pay for out of one's normal monthly income. Therefore, your question should rather be phrased somehow in the sense that there are people who do not know how to save....

[Question] All right, so let's formulate it that way.

[Answer] It always depends on the way in which a person accumulates the sum of money [needed] to satisfy his or her need, let's say, to buy clothes. One person chooses systematic saving to achieve that goal, another starts saving at the last minute, still another uses a major part of his or her income for that purpose and then experiences financial difficulties. And somebody "saves" in reverse: by taking out a loan which he or she has to pay back in regular monthly installments. Also interesting are the people

who save, or more correctly, put money away into the proverbial jars, envelopes, bookcases, or who knows where else money can be hidden at home. These are basically people who want to manage money well. But they are cheating themselves of the interest on savings in a savings bank and they are not helping society form internal financial resources. And they expose themselves to various dangers, since their money is not safe from either natural disasters or from unwelcome guests, as many a disheartening account in the newspaper can testify. And then--money that is, so to say, "at hand" starts "burning" some people, starts tempting them to make foolish purchases and waste it needlessly, and there is usually no joy whatsoever in that.

[Question] Comrade Director, I take it that the difficulty of educating citizens to be thrifty has still another very important, and I would say macroeconomic, aspect that should not be forgotten....

[Answer] I know what you are aiming at: education of people in overall thriftiness. Some forms of saving which we have already discussed are helpful here, for instance, young people's premium saving, which teaches boys and girls goal-setting, discipline, but also proper understanding of all values. A savings bank is engaged in fairly extensive political-educational work that has the character of economic propaganda; it teaches very intensively [the need] to save not only financial resources but also energy, raw materials, material goods, time; it trains people to protect the environment and public property, to use secondary raw materials rationally, but also to establish positive interpersonal relationships, to respect the elderly, to have a creative relationship to life and work. In this respect, a savings bank cooperates effectively with national committees and their agencies or divisions for public affairs, with social organizations of the National Front, and with other institutions. Thus we can talk about very comprehensive educational activity contributing to thriftiness, economy, good and rational relationship to money and to our socialist currency and, naturally, also to the fact that during the coming days our countrymen will again be able to spend a merry Christmas.

12435  
CSO: 2400/191



CATHOLIC MEMBERSHIP LOSS, PROTESTANT CHURCH STUDY INCREASE REPORTED

Membership Loss Psychology Sketched

West Berlin IWE TAGESDIENST in German No 18, 1 Feb 84 p 2

[Unsigned article]

[Text] Awareness of belonging to a minority raises in many Catholics in the GDR "doubt about the correctness of this basic attitude toward life," the East Berlin Catholic journal BEGEGNUNG has noted. That finally leads to one's withdrawal from this minority. A large part of the people prefer to live in harmony with "popular opinion." The journal asserts that many priests, especially those in rural, Protestant areas, complain about this phenomenon. They claim they can name many places where there are no longer any Catholics. Things seem different in the cities, where, due to the different social structure and the self-protection of anonymity, it is claimed that this risk does not necessarily exist. Here the church and religious congregations are said to offer much more security and the opportunity to join a community. Difficulties in preserving confessional identity were experienced more by those who had been drawn in from traditionally Catholic areas, who saw their traditional values and attitudes toward life suddenly placed in question by the anonymous atmosphere of the city, and who eventually lost them.

Theological Student Numbers Rise

Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 2/1984 27 Jan 84 p 9

[Unsigned article]

[Text] Recently, the number of applicants for church-related positions in the GDR has clearly risen. Thus, for example, the GDR educational institutions for pastors, catechists, parish workers, childrens' deaconesses and nurses are "far from being able to give all applicants a positive decision. According to "EPD", the Evangelical Press Service, this information appeared in the Thuringian evangelical weekly GLAUBE UND HEIMAT [Faith and Homeland]. According to this report, the GDR churches' earlier concerns "about the modest demand for

religious training in light of the 'definite change in trend' had become groundless." The weekly paper gave detailed information about applications for theological study, which can be undertaken in the GDR in the departments for Evangelical Theology at three state universities, at three theological training institutes for religious study, and at two pastoral training schools. It was reported that at the start of the academic year 1983-1984, the student slots for theologians at the universities in East Berlin, Leipzig, Halle and Jena were "booked solid," at the University of Grefiswald "all the slots [were] filled for the first time in a long time," and the University of Rostock had the highest number of beginning theology students "in many years." The three church-administered theological institutes have recently been able to admit, on the average, only every second applicant. In spite of the strong pressure to undertake the study of theology, the Evangelical Church in the GDR, according to the report in GLAUBE UND HEIMAT, need not worry about a "pastor boom," for there are currently "still a lot of vacant pastorates."

CSO: 2300/290

# MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY ON REFORM AND SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY EXAMINED

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 14 Jan 84 p 5

[Article by Mihaly Bihari: "Reform and Socialist Democracy"]

[Text] J. J. Rousseau, a "citizen of Geneva" theorizing about The Social Contract, or the Fundamental Principles of Public Law, wrote the following in this work of his: "Taken in the strict sense of the word, true democracy has never existed, nor indeed will it ever exist. It contradicts the natural order of things that the masses should govern and the few have them govern." These words bespeak Rousseau's incomparable sense of reality, because that philosopher, who had the "supreme power," sovereignty itself, taken from parliament for the benefit of the people, was convinced not only of the "truth" of democracy, but also of the fact that democracy was the power arrangement most difficult to establish and to make work. What demonstrates this better than the statement that "if there were a people that was composed entirely of gods, that nation would live under a democratic government. Such a perfect government, however, is not suitable for human beings."

## Institutional Guarantees

In spite of this skeptical statement--which also contains much truth--a series of distinguished political movements and generations staked their lives to establish a democratic power arrangement and to make it work. We may say that the more realistic the ideologists and leaders of a political movement have been, the more they have seen the difficulties of organizing a democratic government.

Ervin Szabo saw the internal contradiction of the democratic arrangement precisely in the fact that democracy postulates the power of the majority and the submission of the minority to the will of the majority, whereas the effective operation of this principle makes impossible or at least difficult smooth modernization and the continuity of reforms and renewal. The simple reason is that the new, the idea looking further ahead and wanting reform, was first represented by some minority against the majority; as a consequence of the prevailing of the power of the majority, however, the demand for reform is for too long a time forced into the background--and this leads to convulsions.

Since then political practice has evolved the sort of solutions, institutional guarantees, that assure both the power of the majority and the survival of minority opinions, even the representative building of minority wishes into the most important element of the power mechanism: the decisional processes.

R. Luxemburg's thesis, that freedom can be truly measured by the freedom of minorities, refers to this, as well.

The prevailing of the power of the majority and guarantees of the preservation of minority opinions denote a particular mechanism of the exercise of power, which assure a sharing in power in such a way that even those not agreeing with a decision can be plugged into the exercise of power as maintainers and strengtheners of the mechanism of power.

#### Critical Mass

These guarantees are important not only because they assure the broadest social base for the exercise of power, but also because in the long run the democratization of the decision-making processes assures above all the full coming into play of the most varied kinds of expertise during the making of decisions. I admit, however, that a rational decision-making process and the making of optimal or at least satisfactory decisions may conflict with the requirements of democracy, and conversely, there is no absolute guarantee that democratic decision-making within the framework of a more rational mechanism leads to better decisions than strongly centralized decisions. In general, there is a greater probability of the simultaneous operationalization of democracy and competence than of the simultaneous operationalization of an anti-democratic decisional mechanism and the various professional requirements.

Since a democratic exercise of power starts with the recognition and continued toleration of a great variety of opinions and wishes, and ends with the preservation of these, it can therefore in principle be the summarizer of the most varied reflections, social experiences, viewpoints, and professional rationality. And here we come to the connection between reform and democracy.

On the one hand, we must see clearly that not every kind of reform is democratic, and democratic power is not always accompanied by a policy committed to reform. In the case of democratic power arrangements, however, there is always a greater chance for the demand for reform becoming the majority will. Beyond this, the "mass of critical size" necessary for the implementation of reforms is also attainable only through democratic means. In this way a base can be guaranteed for undertaking to make open conflicts based on differences of interest and opinion that necessarily accompany reforms, and to resolve them by democratic communal means.

The working out and securing acceptance of concepts of reform, and the development of democracy in the exercise of power, are therefore for this reason two processes reinforcing each other, but it is precisely the keeping



of them together that constitutes the most difficult task for the leadership of society.

### Attractive Features

Ethereally pure reforms and democracies--we are acquainted with forced, delayed, or simply premature reforms and those that are foreign to life, as well as with the reform ideas of some narrow apparat or clique or of the bureaucracy. Nor is every form and realization of democracy attractive. Let us just think of the "fraternal democracy" (Peter Veres) of the former genteel middle class, which was a caste-democracy that was intimate, chummy, toward members of the class, insistent upon its rights, its rank, and its privileges, inwardly solitary, and outwardly aggressive and intolerant. Or let us think of the prevalence of the clique-democracy that rejected any sort of external influences or control, or of the "mass democracy" of the middle sectors that was incapable and undesirous of renewal. Of course it is a legitimate question whether the latter can still be regarded as democracy and the former as reforms.

This democracy is obviously not the one characterized by Marx when he said that democracy serves as "the truth of every form of state," since "democracy is an arrangement of the people," power being realized as the "self-government" of the people, as opposed to the "people of the establishment."

It is also obvious that neither was Lenin thinking of narrowly-based reform campaigns, forced from above and bureaucratically directed, when he wrote that the socialist revolution continues in the form of reforms after the acquisition of power.

In the present era of the development of our society, over and above the solution of the external/internal challenges and problems that have befallen the economy, I regard as a social task on a par with that and of a significance that will determine the historical prospects of socialist society the continued reform of the political/power sphere, and, in conjunction with this the improvement of socialist democracy.

Reform of the economic, the political, the cultural, and the educational sphere and its organic connection with the improvement of socialist democracy is merely one of our possible historical alternatives. Marx also referred to it, but historical examples and decades have proved that communism/socialism "may also exist temporarily in a despotic/dictatorial form" (Marx).

### In the Spirit of Unity

The continued improvement of socialist democracy and the further strengthening of reform processes are the kind of historical alternative for our homeland for which it is necessary to struggle and which must be amalgamated into unity within the framework of conscious political leadership. In this spirit the Party undertakes as a historical task and political obligation--

as up to now, so in the future--the direction and social organization of democratic reforms.

It is proper to establish within the framework of political reforms the kind of institutional system that will make possible the integration of communal interests, their political representation and conflict, and the assertion of the political will of communities in the decisional processes.

Political openness and public opinion should be upgraded into a factor fulfilling a democratic organizational and political oversight role.

An institutional system preserving the diversity of interests and opinions existing in society should be established, and the reform movements of the individual social sub-systems (economics, politics, culture, education, etc.) should be harmonized.

A quality-oriented value system should prevail and, finally, the reforms should be based on the autonomy of communities and local institutions.

The central element of the social reform just sketched is this: the improvement of socialist democracy through the leadership of the Party, and the creation of popular/national unity and its connection with the affairs of socialism, making the commitment of Hungarian society to socialism an unquestionable historical fact.

8971

CSO: 2500/201

REVIVED PEACE MOVEMENT SPLIT BETWEEN MODERATE, RADICAL FACTIONS

Oslo NY TID in Norwegian 11 Jan 84 p 17

[Article: "Conflict Over Peace"]

[Text] Budapest--Since the dissolution of Dialogue Group in July 1983, a moderate and a radical group have existed within the Hungarian peace movement. Issues of whether there should be cooperation with the official Peace Committee, and positions concerning illegal activities, are cited as the causes of the controversy.

The two young men call themselves "460" and "Peace Group for Dialogue" and each has only about 100-150 associates in Budapest. Scattered about Hungary both peace groups have additional loosely affiliated sister groups, but the dimensions and numbers of these are unclear.

The leader of the "moderate" 460, Ferenc Koszegi, was one of the main organizers of the earlier Dialogue. Koszegi pointed out to NY TID that if anything, it is a discussion in terms of a moderate and a more moderate tendency within the Hungarian peace movement, rather than a moderate and a radical course.

He believes that the primary cause of the controversy and the dissolution of Dialogue is disagreement over strategy--dissimilar views over whether Dialogue should cooperate with the official Peace Committee.

"We in 460 believe that cooperation with the authorities on our terms is a means for reaching out to people and preventing our becoming isolated."

"The 'radicals' say that such cooperation will, on the contrary, necessarily lead to our losing contact with grassroots and reality. We risk being devoured by the authorities. We are in disagreement on this," states Koszegi.

Harassment

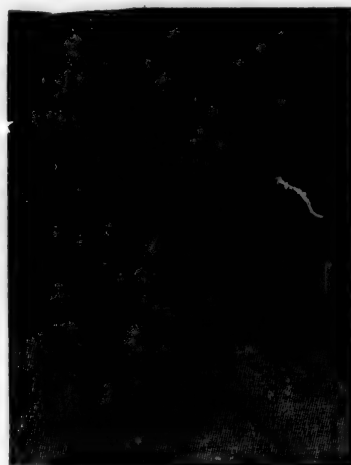
The leader of the newly-formed Peace Group for Dialogue, Ferenc Ruzsa, is not in total agreement with Koszegi's explanation for the rift:

"The primary cause of the split was increased police harassment which made a continuation of the organization impossible. In addition there existed within Dialogue a growing desire for increased activism," states Ruzsa.

Ruzsa emphasizes that Peace Group for Dialogue believes in a relieving of tension through grassroots efforts and that the group is in essential agreement with the ideological and political tenets of the British group, END [expansion unknown].

According to Ruzsa, the peace group hopes to remain unorganized, but in all probability, it will be split into three smaller groups. The starting of its own newspaper is the primary goal for 1984, along with arranging additional direct actions.

It is characteristic of both groups that they have many young followers. Many are students and intellectuals. Theoretical training is regarded as important.



"Dialogue" survives in Hungary, but the group has split into two conflicting groups: The "moderates," 460, are led by Ferenc Kozsegi (on right), while the "radicals," Peace Group for "Dialogue," have as their leading spokesman, Ferenc Ruzsa. (Photo: Sverre Strandhagen)



USE, RELIABILITY OF POLYGRAPH ASSESSED

Warsaw TYGODNIK ROBOTNICZY in Polish No 3, 15 Jan 84 p 11

[Article by Kazimierz J. Pawelec: "The Mystery of the Polygraph: The Liar Sweats and Is Unnerved"]

[Text] From his recollections of the time when he worked for prosecution agencies, Andrzej A. Dobrzynski, formerly a prosecutor, now a journalist, wrote:

"On the day of the investigation, even before the suspect was transferred from the booking point, Professor H., wanting to convince me of the merits of the polygraph, conducted a small experiment. He proposed that I think of some arbitrary number from 1 to 10 and write it down on a piece of paper so that it would be my secret alone. I thought of the number four. The professor attached the sensory elements of the apparatus to my head and arms and then, switching on the polygraph, posed nine questions: 'Is the number you are thinking of seven, two, three, four, etc.' up to nine. At the same time I received instructions from the professor always to answer 'No' in the same manner. Answering thus, I would obviously have to lie when the professor asked me about the number that I had thought of. And that is what happened. Among the nine questions there was a question about my number four. Remembering the instructions, I answered just as I had answered the other questions, "No." And this lying "No" was duly noted by the apparatus.

The person accused of committing a crime has the right not to answer questions posed, he can be silent or even lie. Proceeding in this manner, he is using his right to defense. Certainly he does not have to prove his innocence -- the prosecution agencies are obliged to prove guilt. But there is a problem: is there a way to confirm the truth of the explanations, to disclose the lie, by taking advantage of this modern apparatus for this purpose?

## A Short History

W. Wundt, the German physiologist, psychologist and philosopher, was the first to become interested in investigating the manifestations of psychic experiences. He introduced the method he developed to experimental psychology. Based on his observations, James Mackenzie, a renowned London cardiologist, constructed the first apparatus used for verifying a statement. In the 1920's it was adopted in the U.S.A., and later in other countries.

The polygraph, intended for confirming the truth of a statement by recording various physiological reactions, was subsequently perfected and reconstructed. Its function is based on the universally recognized appearance in people of significant changes in blood circulation, dilation of blood vessels, increase in breathing rate, and excessive perspiration of the body that result from emotional stimuli.

In Poland, the polygraph appeared for the first time in 1963. It was used in the case of the murder of E.P. The man was stabbed in the chest with a knife. Four persons were in the house at the time, that is, W.S., A.P., and two women. The two women were excluded immediately after the initial investigation. They knew of the quarrel among the men that ended in the fatal stabbing with the knife.

At the scene of the crime, three shirts that belonged to W.S., A.P., and the deceased E.P., and a kitchen knife were picked up. On the basis of the location of blood stains, an expert in criminology stated: "The position of blood stains on the shirt of A.P. indicates that his back was turned when E.P. was stabbed. At the same time the location of blood stains on the shirt of W.S. indicates that at the moment the blood spurted from the wound, he was facing the deceased."

Based on this and other evidence, it seemed that the murderer was W.S. During his hearing as the suspect, he did not admit guilt. He said that the crime was committed by A.P. A.P. in turn denied everything. Then the polygraph was resorted to. We will cite the conclusion of the investigation of the suspect, W.S.:

"As a result of the polygraphic study done with W.S., we can affirm that during the recording of the curves, there are significant reactions to critical questions, especially with reference to the direct method of murdering E.P. This kind of reaction, in the light of investigative studies thus far, is

believed to be characteristic for persons who are experiencing an intense emotional state, particularly in connection with disclosure of actual facts that the person wants to hide from others. In any case it is possible to determine that the flow sheets under discussion here, the results of the polygraphic study, are not indicative of a person truthfully answering every critical question pertaining to the murder of E.P."

The opinion cited and the verbal testimony of the expert were included in the consideration of evidence on the basis of which the court found W.S. guilty.

This affair, precedent-setting in its time, evoked wide discussion which has not abated even now.

#### Evidence That Is Only Indirect

Janusz B. was suspected of the murder of Zofia S. Crowning evidence was the deposition of Aleksandra L., who maintained that the suspect behaved strangely with respect to women. She believed that he wanted to murder her several times and that he had various knives. A shoe print preserved during inspection of the scene of the crime also could have been that of Janusz B. The man consistently denied guilt. A polygraph study yielded the information that "in all likelihood Janusz B. is not the murderer of Zofia S." Later it developed that the murderer was Waldemar R. who also had on his conscience another murder involving sex, several assaults, and other crimes.

An evaluation of the appropriateness and effectiveness of using this apparatus to assist in dispensing justice always evokes arguments. Some believe that this method is still in the experimental stage, others reject it entirely as worthless, and some maintain that it is inadmissible from the point of view of principles of the punitive process.

The practice and judication of the Supreme Court do not entirely reject the expert results obtained with the polygraph. The argument is that every reaction recorded by the apparatus only indicates whether it is probable that the accused is reacting to the pressure of certain psychic manifestations. Establishing this fact is not sufficient evidence. The results of polygraph studies cannot be evidence of the guilt or innocence of a person, but they assist in the verification of the evidence. Therefore, they have a certain evidential significance, and, in a way, are indirect evidence.

### An Attempt to Trick?

Let us pose the question: is not the use of a lie detector an attempt to trick the truth? This is an immeasurably delicate and complex problem. It cannot be considered exclusively from the standpoint of criminology or law; psychological, psychophysical and moral aspects must also be considered. How far may a state agency penetrate into spheres of personal life? Is not the price of getting at the truth somewhat too high? The weak sides of the man are revealed, his impotence, helplessness, and defeat are revealed...

The variograph, known also at the polygraph, and colloquially as the lie detector, awakens all of these reservations.

In recent years an attempt has been made to define opinions on the legal conditions admitting the use of the polygraph. These may be contained in several points. First, this apparatus is useful in disclosing crimes on the basis of the psychological reactions of persons who are truly guilty. Second, refusal to submit to a polygraph study must not have any influence on deciding if the person is guilty or not. Third, the apparatus cannot replace investigative activity. Fourth, considering the possibility of error, these studies should not be admitted as evidence in court proceedings. Fifth, a highly qualified group of experts should submit expert evidence since a study done incorrectly might be responsible for harming an innocent person.

In the Polish penal process the polygraph is admissible, but it is not regarded as a lie detector or as a verifier of truthfulness. It is an apparatus for experts. To recognize the polygraph as an apparatus for detecting lies would be a mistaken simplification.

2950

CSO: 2600/613



## PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN CULTURAL LIFE URGED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 7-8 Jan 84 p 3

[Article by Jerzy Adamski]

[Text] The founding congress of the actors' association took place before the Christmas holidays. In this way, the process of reactivating artists' unions was--on the legal and organizational plane--completed. The communities of artists-intellectuals took advantage of the opportunities that appeared before them. Amid the vascillations and resistance (but no longer public), amid the controversy (though already become more like internal community gossip), despite the absence of some well-known figures, there nevertheless arose organizations which will have to serve, from now on, as the representatives of self-government for our artists-intellectuals.

For the intelligentsia still continues to be divided here between the "artistic" and "technical" (and, therefore, uncreative?), maintaining thus an old and today already anachronistic discrepancy between the humanities and the exact and technical sciences, between art and real life, even though life itself precisely refutes such a division, most of all cultural life. For it depends, naturally, not only on artistic intellectuals but, rather, on the entire intelligentsia. Even more, not only on the intelligentsia but, equally, on other groups and--simply--all of society. There will come a time when even the artistic associations will draw the right conclusions from this trite observation--they will cease being concerned only with themselves and their own interests.

Another point is that this, undoubtedly, will not come easily to them. The superstition that cultural life relies on passive observation of someone else's life and someone else's efforts ("cultural": creative, popularizing, critical-interpretive) and nothing else is very deep-rooted among us. To be sure, cultural life depends on creative offering. However, this can be an offering assembled hundreds of years ago and waiting in libraries, museums, and archives. But this can be, admittedly, a contemporary, modern, rich, publicized offering, and even be imposed (as it occurs in the West), and yet--somehow--it is not accepted.

"Somehow not accepted?" Yes, because although, for example, it reached the recipient, all the same it settled in the depths of someone's soul or in

privacy, and it is not known whether it provoked motion, animation, admiration or criticism. For if this is not coming up at all at social receptions and engagements, in conversations at cafes, in clubs or community centers, at meetings or lectures, in newspapers, on the radio or television, we must ascertain that the creative offering did not bring about an exchange of ideas--neither private, nor public--and therefore did not add anything to cultural life. But is this entirely the fault of the creative offering?

The creative offering might be "somehow not accepted" even when it is noisily applauded and loudly discussed; but still remains in the circle of those same offerers (artists, actors) or an exclusive audience, inaccessible and not renewed for years. "Ordinary people" then say "I do not know anything about that," shrug their shoulders, and no longer find anything on their own in an artistic creation that is treated in such a way. Cultural life then becomes, similarly to other spheres, a domain reserved for specialists, and passive observation of this life begins to pass for "participation in culture."

Thus, even if the creation does reach the recipient, books disappear, halls fill up, and the recipients are active, it still does not mean that cultural life is blossoming. It is impossible to reduce cultural life only to creation alone or only to perception and "consumption." Cultural life begins only when the reaction to the work becomes a social value, the subject of exchange, and a means of communication for people. It is a peculiar means because it occurs only for the pleasure which its existence brings to people.

Yet, after all, there is such a need for interpersonal communication that even the pleasure coming from it is of great consequence to culture, for it becomes a powerful stimulus for cultural needs. It promotes their increase, and even their very birth, because the exchange of news and opinions on works, creators, tastes and evaluations is the essence of this communication, and this exchange is turbulent and controversial. That is why cultural life, being comprised of exactly such exchanges, should not be marginal but, rather, the central subject of interest to all of public policy, having the good of the national culture in mind. Does this not yield conclusions for our artistic associations? And perhaps even for the entire intelligentsia?

Yes, cultural life can be facilitated, roused, developed, but it can also be hindered. Indolence, rejection, and egoism hinders it. Tradition and a superstitious indisposition toward mass means of display also hinders it, as does contempt for popularization as well. So does the dread of public work (to be in sight of everyone, when the government scholar is still the ideal?). On the other hand, a high level of general conditions of civilization facilitates cultural life, understood as communication and exchange. These conditions stimulate dissemination activities (this means public information on works and events, as well as their very mass accessibility, supply and marketing). Popularization (or explanation and commentary, adapted to various levels of education) as well as criticism (or expert interpretation and evaluation at the highest level and without "allowances") particularly develop cultural life. Who besides the intelligentsia would be able to take up a task of this kind? Who should?

Obviously, everyone--the entire intelligentsia and not only "the artist." And this is for two important reasons. The first is because the good of culture involves not only works of art, but also the Polish language, scientific work, education, technical inventiveness, journalistic information, the quality of life, illness and dying. The second is that cultural life cannot be facilitated spontaneously and indifferently. Consciously or unconsciously, some model or some example of it is always created. Therefore, it should be created consciously, according to some sort of clearly defined criteria. And not only consciously, but publicly as well: precisely in the sight of everyone. There is still one more thing and it is perhaps the most natural, because it depends on the exchange of ideas, the task of the intelligentsia, and is one of the most urgent.

Harmony. But what is to be the model of cultural life? What kind of example should it be? For the time being, the response to this question has been silence. It is only known that the radio, the press and television would be the most appropriate instruments for the dissemination of this example. But are they ready?

9891

CSO: 2600/581

## DENTISTS FLEE SOCIALIZED MEDICINE

Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY in Polish No 5, 29 Jan 84 p 8

[Interview with Dr Helena Czarnecka, director of the cooperative dental clinic on Warecka Street in Warsaw, by Marek Oskierko: "Empty Chairs"]

[Text] [Question] The least expensive porcelain filling at the cooperative now costs 200 zlotys, an attractive tooth capping 1,150 zlotys and dentures 4,200 zlotys. Aren't these prices excessive?

[Answer] Private dentists have prices several times higher. Our physicians were opposed to such a high increase in the prices of dental services at our cooperative. Besides, only a few stand a chance to make anything. Right now, they're earning about 5 percent more.

[Question] What is going to happen to all this money coming out of the patient's pocket?

[Answer] Taxes have gone up greatly. For example, 43 percent of our wage fund has to be paid to the Social Security Agency. The costs for the upkeep of the clinic have also increased: rent, electricity, laundry services.

[Question] Although a dentist at the clinic works 4 hours a day, he receives a salary as high as 15,000 zlotys.

[Answer] And half of our dental chairs lack the proper mountings. For the first time in the clinic's 30-year history, we have a deficit.

[Question] Has a part of the clinic's staff gone off to early retirement?

[Answer] I lost a considerable number of physicians in 1982. Eight colleagues with more than 20 years of experience retired. Most of them would have continued to work, but the Health Department, unfortunately, is currently extending work permits only to those physicians at the cooperative who work full-time for the department.

[Question] It is known that in accordance with regulations a physician's work at the clinic can be only a second occupation.



[Answer] Yes, but that was years ago when Warsaw had no shortage of dentists. The Health Department extended work permits only for the clinic. Suddenly in 1982 it was discovered that there were very few dental students in school and the Health Department decided to reach for the physicians in our clinic.

[Question] Has any of the eight retirees gone to work for the Health Department?

[Answer] Not one. Most have availed themselves of the chance for early retirement...

[Question] ...and continue to work at the clinic as retirees?

[Answer] They can earn up to 65,000 zlotys a year. They reached that limit after several months. Since then, the chairs are empty. Although there is a shortage of trained dentists, we are unable to treat all patients because of this impractical order.

[Question] Last year 40 new dentists began work in Warsaw. Does any of them work here for the modest salary offered?

[Answer] No. Several tried, but quickly gave up. They discovered that the work here was very demanding. One was offered 9,000 zlotys for only 2 days of work a week at some plant dispensary. A tremendous effort would be required to make 9,000 zlotys here.

[Question] I've heard that many young dentists have recently been opening up private offices.

[Answer] Several a month.

[Question] A certain dentist told how he had once tried to work at the cooperative. With great effort, he stayed for several weeks, but couldn't take the intensive workload.

[Answer] One is paid here for the amount of work performed. The greater the effort, the higher the physician's wages and the cooperative's income. The physician receives a commission for each patient he sees; recently, however, this commission has been reduced considerably.

[Question] Recently, the Health Department made an inspection. At one of the selected countryside cooperatives, four dentists were to begin work at 7 am. Only one was on time. The rest were 35 minutes, 45 minutes and 2 hours and 40 minutes late, respectively.

[Answer] No one starts late here. Time is money for us.

[Question] This kind of incentive, however, is not conducive to good work. There are stories that fillings done at the cooperative soon come out.

[Answer] If we were dishonest, our patients would soon leave us and go elsewhere, and we would have to close the clinic.

[Question] An inspection by the Supreme Chamber of Control revealed that certain physicians employed outside the city have the habit of working at the cooperative.

[Answer] There has never been a case of this in our clinic.

[Question] Is it true that you use better and the most modern equipment in your work here?

[Answer] As a rule, we do not have the newest equipment, but we take extremely good care of it.

[Question] The head of Warsaw dentistry admitted that people in the countryside can wait up to a year for dentures. How long is the wait at the cooperative?

[Answer] On the average, one has to wait 2 weeks at the cooperative.

[Question] A short waiting period, quick and professional treatment and the opportunity to select a trusted physician--these are the cooperative's strong points. Is there anything else?

[Answer] Already 30 years ago the medical cooperative movement decided to establish dentistry here. We have accomplished much and have a large number of techniques which have still to be implemented in the countryside, for example porcelain caps and frame dentures.

[Question] But are there not fewer and fewer people who want these services?

[Answer] Recently, fewer retirees have been coming to the clinic, but the total number of patients has not decreased. At the same time, we are threatened with having our cooperative change over to other specialties, even though we know that Warsaw's people need dental work. We have never had such a busy year as 1983. We are always looking for people willing to work.

[Question] Of the 2,500 dentists in Warsaw, as many as 1,000 are working for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Army, the Office of the Council of Ministers and other institutions. Even every district council wants to have its own dentist.

[Answer] It is difficult for me to say anything about all this, because I have few facts. On the other hand, no one will dispute the fact that there have never been such difficulties in finding a dentist as there are now.

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] Thank you for the interview.

## MEDIA ROLE IN IMPLEMENTATION OF OVERALL CONTRACT SYSTEM

Bucharest PRESA NOASTRA in Romanian Dec 83 p 14

[Article: "Press Treatment of Problems Encountered in Applying the Overall Contract System in a Generalized Manner"]

[Excerpts] In the framework of a political and professional information and training program for journalists, initiated by the Council of Journalists, the Association of Economist-Journalists organized a meeting, on 29 November, with Comrade Maxim Berghianu, minister of labor, and with other cadres in the leadership of the ministry. Representatives of the management of large enterprises and industrial centrals in Bucharest and the rest of the country participated in the working meeting, along with members of the Association of Economist-Journalists in Bucharest and members of a number of editorial staffs in the counties.

The session was opened by Comrade Ion Cumpanasu, chief editor of SCINTEIA, chairman of the Council of Journalists, who referred, in his speech, to the constant concern of the council with ensuring that the newsmen receive prompt and sound information and with contributing to their continuing professional improvement.

The generalization of the organization and remuneration of labor on the basis of the overall contract system in the entire economy was the subject of the report presented by Comrade Maxim Berghianu. He stressed the importance of the generalization of the overall contract system in mobilizing available reserves and increasing responsibility for raising the level of leadership and management of the enterprises and the role of the mass media in supporting the application of these measures. Since it is a form of remuneration for labor according to quantity and quality, in accordance with the ideas expressed in the report of the secretary general of the party, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to the RCP National Conference, the generalized overall contract system ensures the application of the principle: "No work without bread, no bread without work."

The speaker spoke about the measures which each economic unit should have in mind for ensuring all the necessary conditions for the correct application of the overall contract system for the remuneration of labor. Of particular importance, he said, is the effort to change a harmful idea that

still exists, to the effect that presence at work alone is sufficient for receiving remuneration. The law adopted clearly states that no one can be guaranteed an income without working since, now, the income is a direct expression of the actual contribution of each person to the production of material and intellectual goods. It is absolutely necessary to make the masses aware, to create a new mentality, to strengthen in the minds of the workers the idea of the responsibilities which result from their three-fold position as owners, producers and beneficiaries. In this direction--the ever more active involvement of all workers in ensuring conditions for the application of the overall contract system in a generalized manner--the newspapers and radio and television can do much more.

Concluding his speech, he gave a detailed analysis of the results obtained after the first month of the application of the overall contract system, of the problems which have arisen, and of the measures which should be continued and which should be supported by the press and radio and television.

The more than 50 questions asked by the journalists referred to numerous concrete aspects of the application of the overall contract system in a generalized manner and to some problems arising in different enterprises, many of which have resulted from the lack of a thorough knowledge of all the provisions of the law.

In their responses, Comrade Maxim Berghianu, as well as Comrades Nicolae Mitrofan and Alecu Busnita, directors in the Ministry of Labor, stressed the role of the unifying organs, the enterprise managements, and each worker, in ensuring all the conditions which would permit the correct application of the generalized overall contract system and in finding effective solutions according to the specific character of each unit.

A concrete discussion, which was very useful in providing information to the journalists, brought comments from specialists in the industrial enterprises and centrals. Interesting details, concrete aspects of the application of the overall contract system of organization and remuneration of labor, and economic implications which came to light in practical activity, were presented for discussion on this occasion.

CSO: 2700/132



REGULATIONS ON PROVIDING WORK UNIFORMS APPROVED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 8, 30 Jan 84 p 2

[Council of Ministers Resolution Approving Regulations on Work Uniforms and Standardized Articles of Clothing for Personnel in State Socialist Units]

[Text] On the basis of Article 3 of Decree No 312/1980, the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Romania resolves:

Article I -- Regulations on work uniforms and standardized articles of clothing for personnel in state socialist units are approved as follows:

1. The regulation on providing work uniforms and standardized articles of clothing for personnel in transportation and telecommunications units (Annex No I);
2. The regulation on providing work uniforms and standardized articles of clothing for personnel in civil aviation (Annex No II);
3. The regulation on providing work uniforms for forestry personnel (Annex No III);
4. The regulation on providing work uniforms for forestry railroad personnel (Annex No IV);
5. The regulation on providing work uniforms for personnel in the Sulina free port administration (Annex No V);
6. The regulation on providing work uniforms for customs personnel (Annex No VI);
7. The regulation on providing standardized articles of clothing for personnel in units subordinate to the Ministry of Domestic Trade (Annex No VII);
8. The regulation on providing standardized articles of clothing for personnel in units subordinate to the Ministry of Tourism (Annex No VIII);
9. The regulation on providing standardized articles of clothing for personnel in the PECO stations for the delivery of petroleum products (Annex No IX);

10. The regulation on providing standardized articles of clothing for personnel in units for culture and art (Annex No X);

11. The regulation on providing work uniforms for personnel guarding socialist units (Annex No XI);

12. The regulation on providing work uniforms for some categories of workers in the Bucharest transportation enterprise, subordinate to the Bucharest Municipality People's Council (Annex No XII);

13. The regulation on providing work uniforms for some categories of workers in the Coundstanta County local transportation enterprise, subordinate to the Constanta County People's Council (Annex No XIII).

Annexes I-XIII X) are an integral part of the present resolution.

Article II -- The units are obliged to take measures for the proper implementation of the regulations and for the respecting of their provisions by the personnel to whom work uniforms or articles of clothing are provided.

Article III -- The ministries and the other central and local organs will monitor the way in which units subordinate to them carry out the provisions of the approved regulations.

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE  
SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA

Prime Minister,

Constantin Dascalescu

Bucharest, 14 January 1984

No. 5

X) Annexes I-XIII are being transmitted to the institutions concerned.

CSO: 2700/125

## LCY WEEKLY CRITICIZES NATIONALISM, ANTISOCIALISM IN RELIGION

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 27 Jan 84 p 22

[Article by Stipe Pojatina]

[Text] Under contemporary conditions, when social changes brought about by the struggle for national liberation and socialist revolution (especially the realization of national equality and relations on socialist bases, affirmation of Yugoslav socialist communality, the phenomenon of massive atheism, religious noncommitment and religious pluralism within nations, etc.) have conditioned a clearer differentiation, pushing back the traditional role of religion in the sphere of national life, religious institutions are reviving the practice of linking the church with the national tradition and of determining the content of nationality through religious commitments and symbols. Social changes which certainly did not have antireligious goals and meaning but rather class and national liberation were, among other things, directed against clericalist consciousness and practice and, finally, toward the realization of real religious freedom. They have objectively conditioned the ousting of religion from the national consciousness. Resisting these processes and aiming at the same time to overcome a crisis of identity, religious institutions have lately been connecting their activities more and more with national content, pointing out the national function of religion.

There is no doubt that the existing practice--which is manifested in various forms--of presenting church and religious activities as religio-national, i.e. to fill and permeate them as much as possible with national content, represents in fact strategic commitments within these traditional confessional directions. Although it cannot be said that every connection between the religious and national awareness has an a priori negative meaning (Christianity, the same as Islam, by itself does not include nationalist possibilities), it must be pointed out that the renewal and revival of the above-mentioned church ideologies stimulates to a large part an anti-Yugoslav and antisocialist nationalist awareness. There is an abundance of examples in which that part of religious awareness is manifested which identifies religion and nation, tends toward monopoly and exclusivity in the sphere of social awareness, identifies religion with antisocialist commitment, makes a political differentiation on a religious basis, leads to interconfessional intolerance, etc.

In the manifested approach to the masses of the faithful "to bring the church closer to people" and to make it the framework of national assembly, special emphasis is put on the concentration of the fateful link between one's church and "one's" nation, and the renewal of faith in "one's nation." Such an orientation is shown through statements and sermons of the hierarchy, and in the writing of some religious newspapers and magazines in various forms: from the theses that religion and religious communities are the main and only factor in the formation of the spiritual culture of our peoples (it attempts to reduce national cultures to the "catholic," "orthodox," or "islamic"), that nations are nothing other than a result of the symbiosis of religion, culture and history, to the identification of religious, national and state history, and to the trend to affirm the church, viz the hierarchy, in the role of national guide and leader.

The celebration of "thirteen centuries of Christianity of the Croats," which has lasted almost 10 years, is accompanied by a constant advocacy of the thesis of "a live, organic and unbreakable link between the church and the Croatian people." In this context, large religious demonstrations and "national" pilgrimages are organized, with religio-national content, usually celebrating dates, events and personalities from national and church history. In these demonstrations, religious and ecclesiastical content is strongly linked with national content; terminology and external setting of the meetings are filled with such contents, symbols and messages as to make possible a larger presence of national elements and characteristics; from the Croatian national anthem, historical coats of arms, flags, emblems and other souvenirs to traditional folklore and folk costume. At the same time it is emphasized that these symbols have to be brought into "every our consciousness; every house, every church, every catechistic and parochial community, so that every child could grow in such an atmosphere and such objects should make an imprint in his spirit since the earliest days," and all this has to "happen before any other organized and accidental influences." As in these historical events, it is emphasized, lies the "source of our social, national and religious consciousness and culture," and as this "heritage and tradition formed our past," "it has to be active in our personal and collective present and future too," because "centuries go by, chairs are put up and taken down," but the church remains. Celebrations also serve to strengthen the unity and monolithism of the church which must at the same time be a means of national integration and consolidation, while the leading hierarchy can be a personification and symbol of the nation.

Within the Serbian Orthodox Church, the identification of the religious and the national is also constantly shown. Mystico-religious irrationalism based on the Vidovdan and Saint Sava myths, which identify the Serbdom and orthodoxy, church and nation to extreme limits, in our days also easily acquires overt forms of nationalism. It is often emphasized that Orthodoxy has been "fatefully linked with what makes of a Serb a Serb, nation has completely identified with religion." Counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo gave impetus to an intensified identification, which is especially reflected in the "Priests' Appeal for the Protection of Serbian Inhabitants and Their Sanctuaries in Kosovo" and other manifestations and moves of the



hierarchy and church press in which they demand permission for wider role of the church in the social and national life, so that the church could make a greater contribution to the homogeneization of the nation.

The Islamic religious community also displays the trend to treat Islam not only as a religion but also as an integral political ideology and culture which has formed the Muslim nation. It is true that Islam has left a deep imprint in the culture of the Muslims, but linking their national affirmation exclusively with the Islamic religious community and giving it the attributes of a protector of national development means, in fact, denies the achievements in the struggle for national liberation and socialist revolution and all that the League of Communists has realized in this area.

The indicated trends within various religions are, as a rule, accompanied by negative attitudes toward socialist society and its values. The starting point is the integrist position that only on the foundation of "God's truth" one can build a "healthy" and "just" human society. All the "misery" and "evil" in this world, and even "crisis situations" are only a consequence of the lack of religious principles in the formation of social life, and atheism and materialism (atheism is usually identified with Marxism) are the greatest evils of our time. "We are living at the time of all the crises ('crisis situations') and people are again seeking a refuge and support in eternity"--it is pointed out in VERITAS, a publication of Conventual Franciscans. "We are aware of the propaganda machinery and bureaucratic promises, and young people again look to the church and find comfort in it, as it tells the truth of life. Indeed, our church, which has preserved the spirit of the people for centuries, has become a refuge, a chance to an opportunity to realize human and spiritual values." And the episcope of Zica, Stefan, summoning to Christian ethico-moral principles of living, says in PRAVOSLAVLJE: "We lack a lot. But this is not the greatest tragedy. Tragedy has come because of spiritual and moral poverty which has caused a scarcity of another kind, too," etc.

The development of integrist ecclesiastical ideologies, especially by means of emphasizing national functions of religion, i.e. "nationalization of religion is the main reason why in our country the space of mutual dialogue and ecumenical strivings has been essentially reduced." Instead of an authentic religion and its inspirations (which can contribute to solidarity and mutuality, and even be antinationalistically oriented and open to socialist self-management society and communality, etc.), church hierarchy has often stimulated clericalist positions and actions. It is interesting that the activation of church ideologies is increasing simultaneously with social efforts to ensure better conditions for the realization of religious freedom, which is proved, among other things, by the expansion of religious institutions, building of religious objects and wide dissemination of the religious press. Besides criticizing clericalist pretensions, the League of Communists is equally critical with regard to dogmatic consciousness and sectarian practice in relation to religion and religious freedom, distinguishing certainly between religiosity and clericalism. "If religious interest is a matter of man's personal freedom and not a means for political differentiation in society, then there is no need to politicize this



interest and make of it a weapon in the struggle for political power," E. Kardelj emphasized in his study "Directions of Development of the Political System of Socialist Self-Management."

Extreme examples of clericalist, in fact, hostile behavior are the meetings, known to the public, between some church prelates with the extreme anti-Yugoslav political emigration (the latest phenomenon of this type is the meeting of the episcopo of Zica, Stefan, and the episcopo of Dalmatia, Nikolaj, with Chetnik emigres and well-known war-criminal priest Dzujic). Such phenomena and trends as, for example, Catholic church offering to young generations ideological indoctrination modeled after a lay movement before the war, and in the Orthodox church the attempts to revive the so-called bogomoljci movement, or the reaffirmation within Islam, of ideologies of pan-Islamism and Islamic fundamentalism are reaffirmed. Thus ideologies of religious and national hatred and exclusivism represent, in fact, an attempt of anachronistic ideologies of blood and evil again to appear on the scene in our space.

All this certainly points out the need for greater presence of Marxist critical thought in unmasking the manifestations of clericalism in our country. Besides the realization of economic and cultural conditions, and a constant development of socialist self-management consciousness, a special place in ideological unmasking of this consciousness is occupied by the Marxist critical approach to the valorization of history, culture, tradition and heritage of the people. This certainly does not mean that any role of the religion and church in history is negated, nor that churches and priests would be forbidden to deal with cultural-historical values in the religious and ecclesiastical realm. Anyway, besides clericalism, there are also in the church phenomena and behaviors of a different character, and even positive differentiation in questions of religion and nation. The point in question is simply that this commitment should be critically freed from biased nationalist exploitation and clericalist mythologization of the people's cultural heritage, and especially that those attempts should be unmasked which in the name of religion offer antisocialist political directions. For clericalism is still today nourished mainly by the elements of that reactionary consciousness which rests on mythologizations of past centuries, which in our circumstances can be very disintegrative and destructive.

12455

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IMPRESSIONS OF MONTENEGRINS WORKING IN SLOVENIA REPORTED

Titograd POBJEDA in Serbo-Croatian 31 Dec 83, 1-2 Jan 84 p 6

[Article by Milutin Labovic: "Altered Work Habits"]

[Text] Maribor is first mentioned as a city in the 13th century. Today it has a population of 186,000. It is a transit point in the northeast of Slovenia which lies on the Drava River. Back in the Middle Ages international routes crisscrossed through this town and linked central Europe with the Mediterranean. Today one of the most heavily trafficked transportation routes linking Europe to the Near and Middle East passes through Maribor. This is a city of contrasts, of old medieval structures and of modern blocs of housing and boulevards. A city of industry. The city's labor force is 70,000.

About 2,000 Montenegrins have moved to Maribor looking for jobs and larger income. They are working in "TAM" [Maribor Motor Vehicle Factory], "Hidro-montaza," "Marles," "Paloma"... Many came without experience, but many did have working experience in a Montenegrin work organization.

"I have been here more than 7 years," Srdja Sekulic says; he works in the paint shop of "TAM."

Whoever Is Working--Is Earning

The earnings are good, but the work is also fierce. Many of our people are accustomed to taking several breaks during the workday, without even telling their supervisor, and they leave the grounds of the factory, and they take sick leave whether they need it or not. It is different here.

Discipline is higher, and the job is better organized. I am not talking about sick leave. Well, we can take sick leave, but the very next day the members of some commission come to visit the patient, and if they find that he is "sick" out in the fields or out hunting, there will be a penalty and wages will be deducted for the days spent on that kind of "sick leave."

"Thirteen years ago I became representative of the 'Marles' housing construction industry for Montenegro," says Vesko Ivanovic, who today works in "Slo-venijales."

"The earnings are good, but quite a bit is also spent. The full shop windows are enticing, and everything is expensive. The trips are frequent, but it is not tiring because of the good roads and the extended highway network. But better not to talk much about my job, but about certain habits which we cannot free ourselves of easily. Whereas here the directors do not travel anywhere on Monday, and work is not over until 1600 hours, back in Montenegro we used that first day of the week to 'rest up' after the weekend."

Among the Montenegrins in Maribor there is also a group of young men who come here occasionally to earn a few dinars in a manner which is not permitted. Since the border is only 16 km from Maribor and the most heavily trafficked border crossing is in the vicinity, smugglers, "those who fish in muddy waters" and all sorts of others take advantage of this. During the conversations we had over several days in Maribor we often heard the young people mention the "Fontana" Disco Club, which is located 2 km from the city.

#### Weekend in a Restaurant

"This is a real 'den' for smuggling and prostitution," people say. "They drink to the point of stupor, and not only that...."

We saw this for ourselves, since we visited that "strange Fontana" one night out of curiosity. But after 10 minutes our desire was to leave that establishment as soon as possible.

"I am an economist," Dusan Popovic says. "Every week I am given assignments by my superiors so that I can make no mistake. And if I make a mistake, then it is my mistake least of all. The organization of work is such that the work time is used to the maximum. Many who have come from Montenegro don't like this, leave their jobs and then delve into all sorts of things."

The city comes to life on Friday afternoon. Everyone sets off somewhere with knapsacks, with satchels.

"It is like that here every weekend," Srdja Sekulic says. "Here around Maribor, on Pohorje and Kozjak, there are hundreds of log cabins and lodges set out in the nicely kept forest. That is where families spend 2 or 3 days. They cook their own meals and hike kilometers. It is difficult for us Montenegrins to get accustomed to that, and we usually spend the weekend in restaurants and coffeehouses."

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## YUGOSLOVIA

### MARINE LANDING EXERCISE ON ADRIATIC ISLAND

Zagreb START in Serbo-Croatian No 389, 17 Dec 83 pp 44-47

[Article by Miroslav Lazanski, "Landing at Dawn"]

[Text] December 1983. Stormy winds blow over the Adriatic Sea. In the darkness, hidden by pine trees, is a military canvas settlement. The whistling of the wind mingles with the monotonous chugging of the field generator. In the command tent the officers of the marines landing unit analyze the situation: The attacker has landed on a remote island. The local territorial unit on the island withdrew to the mountains, to the second line of defense, and steadfastly bears the attacker's strong pressure. If the attacker conquers the island, he will acquire a secure platform for assaults on the neighboring islands and the coast.

The commander of the navy infantry landing unit outlined his idea of the forthcoming attack. All the data about the attacker, weather conditions and geographic characteristics have already been fed into the headquarters computers which will produce all the necessary estimates and calculations in some 10 seconds, and the commander will take the decision then. His message to the assault landing boat unit consisted of two words only: "Leave promptly." The "marines" immediately went to boarding sites.

The small hidden bay suddenly came to life. Although it is still dark, large armoured landing vehicles maneuver as if it were daytime. Between them are territorial defense boats, whose task is to prevent a sudden commando attack from the open sea. While tanks and other vehicles slowly enter the widely opened craft entrails, bombs are exploding around them. The crew members are throwing them, just in case, against potential underwater commandoes.

As soon as armoured landing vehicles moved forth, assault boats entered the bay. One can hardly see white numerals 617, 618, 619...on their grey flanks. Navy infantrymen boarded them in less than two minutes. Surprisingly, one could not hear the noise of soldiers' boots and weapons on board. The crew members silently fulfilled their tasks in combat stations. In silence which was disturbed only by the hum of the ships' engines, the hutch was quickly filled with columns of soldiers. Combat knapsacks served well providing a more comfortable position in this long voyage. Some soldiers



are dozing, others muse into the night. Several soldiers comment on the just finished round of soccer championship.

Ships were sailing toward the open sea whose pale blue color announced the dawn. Only now one can see the machine-gunners' silhouettes on assault landing boats. Other assault boats sail around our ship, and a little farther ahead one can see the armoured landing craft. The convoy is protected on the flanks by torpedo and missile boats and patrol vessels. It was not easy to form the convoy without lights, passing between cliffs and small islands.

We have been sailing for more than three hours and are near the destination. The commander of the marines in our assault landing boat is explaining the immediate task to the soldiers: Where to establish the bridgehead, how to link with the local unit on the island, how to prevent any surprise. Suddenly, sound signals from the captain's bridge. Combat station for monitoring the situation in the air sends the message that a group of enemy aircraft is approaching the convoy. The barrels of rapid-fire automatic anti-aircraft guns immediately turned into the proper direction. The roar of jet fighter-bombers which passed over the convoy in sweeping flight overwhelmed the noise of the vessel engines and the cannonade of anti-aircraft guns which seemed to pour out an incessant fire jet because of intense shooting. Bombs created water geysers between vessels.

The assault landing boats' prows turned toward the barren coast of the island. At the distance of about 400 m, automatic weapon bursts reverberated from the underbrush. The enemy has organized a reception. Our machinegunners and mortars on board returned the fire. The "marines" commander turned around and raised his hand; landing was just about to begin. While the hydraulic gate of the boat was opening, machinegunners and boat artillery intensified their fire on targets at the edge of the underbrush. Infantry rushed out of the boat, to reach a protected place as soon as possible, form a bridgehead and fortify it. Triple rows which were formed already in the boats' hatches lined up into rifle formations. Brief, energetic commands could be heard. To our right, navy infantry from the boat number 618 landed. Behind us, a second wave of marines is approaching the shore. They have mortars and recoilless guns. As soon as they step on firm soil, they open fire on the elevations where the enemy has dug in. Deployed as snipers, soldiers are combing the terrain under the bushes which become denser as one goes deeper in the island. The front of the combat detachment is opening the way with hatchets. Suddenly we are informed that airborne landing took place about 5 km inside the island. Soldiers brought by helicopters approached the attacker from the rear. This was the signal for the navy landing infantry to speed up their advance. After "fighting" for several hours, we linked with the local unit on the island. This was the end of the exercise. Naturally, only for journalists, but not for soldiers and officers who participated in it. They will analyze the exercise and draw conclusions for a long time.

The unit of the navy landing infantry, whose guests we have been these days, became "opened to the public" only recently. This is an elite universal formation of our armed forces, unique in many regards. It has been trained



to perform all the tasks not only at sea or in the coastal area but in a still wider way. Three years ago it was the best in the navy, and this year it is again at the top in the competition for the best unit. It is continuing the tradition of the Kvarner task force of the NOVJ navy infantry, which was first organized on the island Ist on 8 November 1944. This task force was comprised of 5 battalions of marines at the beginning of April 1945, a gun battery, communications squad and other staff elements, with the total number of about 900 soldiers. The Kvarner task force navy infantry battalions successfully participated in the final operations of the liberation of Pag, Rab, Krk, Cres and Losinj. After disembarking in Istria, the Kvarner navy infantry detachment, with the help of two battalions of Istrian Partisan Task Force, liberated Pula on 3 May 1946, and at the end of the war it had nine battalions.

The armaments, equipment and training of the officer Svetko Lukic's unit which continues the glorious tradition of our war "marines" make it a worthy successor of members of the Kvarner task force of navy infantry. When they celebrate the 40th anniversary of the formation of the unit whose tradition they continue, this will certainly be an opportunity to add one more decoration to the unit's flag, in addition to the badge of fraternity and unity they already have. We talked with officers, comrades Ante Nogic, Predrag Lalovic, and Radojica Pavicevic about the role of landing forces, and especially navy infantry as a component of armed forces in the Adriatic navy theater. Military-geographic characteristics of our coast and coastal area with 1,233 islands, only 66 of which are inhabited, make combat and non-combat forms of resistance on uninhabited islands more difficult. This is why we must have highly mobile forces to occupy such islands or free them if the enemy occupies them temporarily. Our long coastline demands fast maneuver units, and landings require especially adapted and trained forces for fast boarding, sea and air transport (in some cases, navy infantry is transported by airplane and helicopters), and landing and attack on the shore defended by the enemy. The armament and equipment of these forces must be adapted to the use on difficult orographic shapes of our coast and pedologic characteristic of the coastal fringe where, outside the harbors, it is very difficult to use combat vehicles, whether of wheel or caterpillar type. For all these reasons, the armaments of our units of navy landing infantry have a high fire power and small dimensions, and are suitable for rapid loading in vessels and unloading outside harbors and docks, while units are trained to dwell as short a time as possible at the shore because this area would probably be most exposed to the enemy's anti-landing fire in case of war.

Our landing force units are conceived in such a way that they can perform combat actions autonomously on the basis of an overall tactical organization. At the same time, these units can team up into able functional tactical structures for independent combat within up to 5 hours after the landing. These are company or battalion landing groups. Commands of our units performing landing operations are trained in such a way that they can give orders to formations of various branches of armed forces, accept subordinate forces from other structures, and cooperate with the commands of transportation forces, naval and air support, as well as with territorial units.

One can assume that in the initial phase of the war will enjoy a surprise advantage and will thus be on the offensive in every part of the country, concluding the Adriatic Naval Theater. At a certain point in the war, the enemy forces, which would be in control of large territories, will have stretched themselves thinly and thus the enemy will not be able to fully adhere to its tactical plans. Moreover, the enemy could never occupy all of our sell-indented coast; there would always be sections with a weak anti-landing defense organization, which would give to our units an opportunity for attack by using armed forces from various structures in the role of landing troops.

Because of the need for massive landing actions of our forces in the coastal area, we prepare for the role of landing groups also other units of the land army as well as combined tactical units of territorial defense. Combined tactical units of territorial defense are very suitable for the role of landing forces because of their equipment and adaptation to the coastal area. The highly combined tactical units of the land army and other landing troop echelons also have a significant role in the coastal area, especially in landings that have an operative character. Although highly combined tactical units of the land army and other landing troop echelons also have a significant role in the coastal area, especially in landings that have an operative character. Although highly combined tactical units of navy infantry are the basic maneuver forces for actions on the coast and islands, the implementation of the principle of offensive insures, under our conditions, our superiority in offensive actions with maneuver forces and the support of other ONO and DSZ structures in the zone of combat operations.

The exercise we witnessed convinced us that our landing craft can land at any shore. Assault landing boats from the officer Vinko Cetipovic's (a long-time Alka player) unit securely and precisely maneuvered in heavy seas. The vessels are the latest in contemporary shipbuilding technology; fast, made of strong fiberglass, solidly armed, and equipped with all the instruments for detection and monitoring of objects in the air, on the surface of and under water. They were designed and built in Yugoslavia. The commanders of these boats (the assault landing boat No 617, the best in its category, carried a blue letter N) Officers Milan Teskovic and Zvonko Kezerle, told us that their team is a lucky blend of youth and experience, and that the record holder is the officer Andrija Jerkovic who has sailed on our navy's vessels for 31 years. The cooperation of this unit with the unit of landing infantry which they transport is very close.

Members of this unit, as the officer Jovo Popovic from a higher command confirmed, provided security and transportation to the supreme commander. They are navy infantrymen, and they were Tito's guardsmen.

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